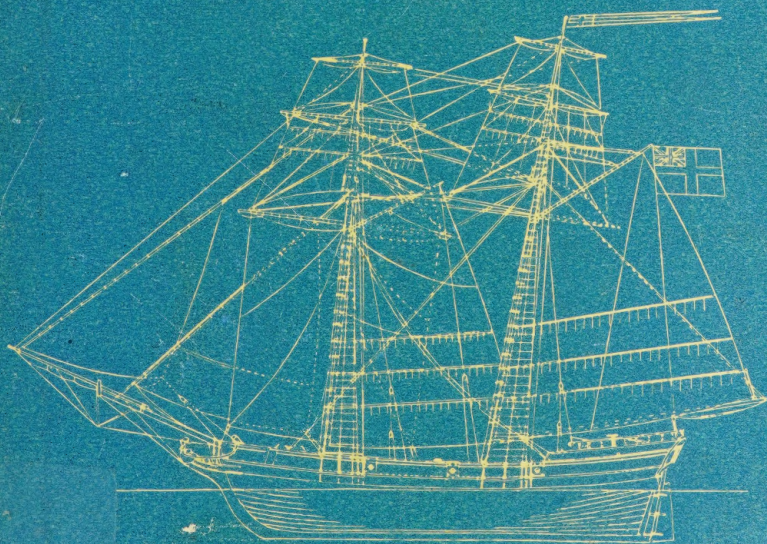


L E A V E S F R O M T H E

WAR LOG
of The Nancy

E I G H T E E N H U N D R E D A N D T H I R T E E N



W I T H C O M M E N T S B Y C. H. J. S N I D E R

Map Showing the Principal Points in The War Log of The Nancy and the Present Day Locations



Legend

1. Falls of St. Mary, where the Nancy wintered, 1813-14 and her logbook ends. Here her owners, The Northwest Fur Company, had a post and hither she used to voyage as a fur trader before the War of 1812.
2. The "Gibraltar of the North" captured by British volunteers at the beginning of the War of 1812 and held successfully throughout the contest, the garrison being supplied by the Nancy when she was the only vessel flying the British flag left afloat west of the falls of Niagara.
3. Where the crew of the destroyed Nancy avenged her by capturing the two schooners which had destroyed her.
4. Where the Nancy encountered a furious tempest.
5. The Nancy's drift in the gale.
6. Somewhere between these points the Nancy fetched up in the great gale and rode it out with frayed cables, in great peril on the lee shore.
7. Capt. Mackintosh's expected landfall in the gale.
8. Where the Nancy perished and her hull is now enshrined.
9. (York) from which supplies were carried overland to Wasaga Beach to be taken by the Nancy for the relief of the garrison in Mackinac.
10. Here the Nancy lost (and recovered later) her anchor, when scouting to discover the condition of the country after returning from the far north.
11. Rapids of the St. Clair where the Nancy fought her way through the American forces after Capt. Mackintosh threatened to blow her up.
12. Fort Erie from whence the Nancy carried troops for the capture of Detroit in 1812.
13. British post where the Nancy was built in 1789.
14. Moy, where the Nancy was owned and from which she voyaged during the time covered by the logbook.
15. Battle of Lake Erie September 10th, 1813.
16. Maumee River and Bay, where the Nancy lies when the log begins.
17. Put-In Bay Island (South Bass).
18. Fort Meigs (battle site) against which the Nancy carried troops.
19. Fort Stephenson (battle site).
20. Sandusky Bay where the Nancy carried troops and gathered hay for the Major-General's sheep.

PRINCIPAL SAILING TRACKS AND ANCHOR-AGES OF THE NANCY ARE MARKED THUS

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H.M. SCHOONER NANCY, 1789-1814
DRAWN BY ROWLEY MURPHY AFTER PLANS BY C. H. J. SNIDER

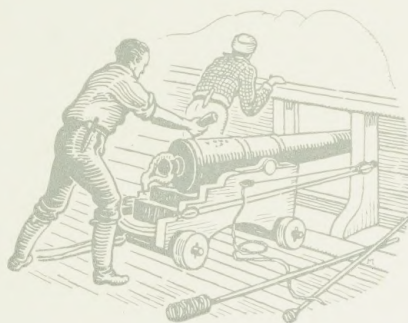
L E A V E S F R O M T H E

WAR LOG *of The Nancy*

E I G H T E E N H U N D R E D A N D T H I R T E E N

C O M M E N T S B Y C . H . J . S N I D E R

Author of the Story of "THE NANCY AND OTHER EIGHTEEN-TWELVERS"



N I N E T E E N H U N D R E D A N D T H I R T Y - S I X
R O U S & M A N N L I M I T E D , T O R O N T O , C A N A D A

P U B L I S H E R ' S N O T E
(WITH AN AUTOGRAPH OF THE MAN WHO KEPT THE LOG)

IT is our feeling, which you possibly share, that much material of great interest and considerable historic importance remains unknown to Canadians generally, because it is buried from all but the curious few, in public archives or private collections. In again venturing upon a small token of good will for this new year, for private circulation among our friends, we have, accordingly, chosen another Canadian historical subject and original material for presentation.

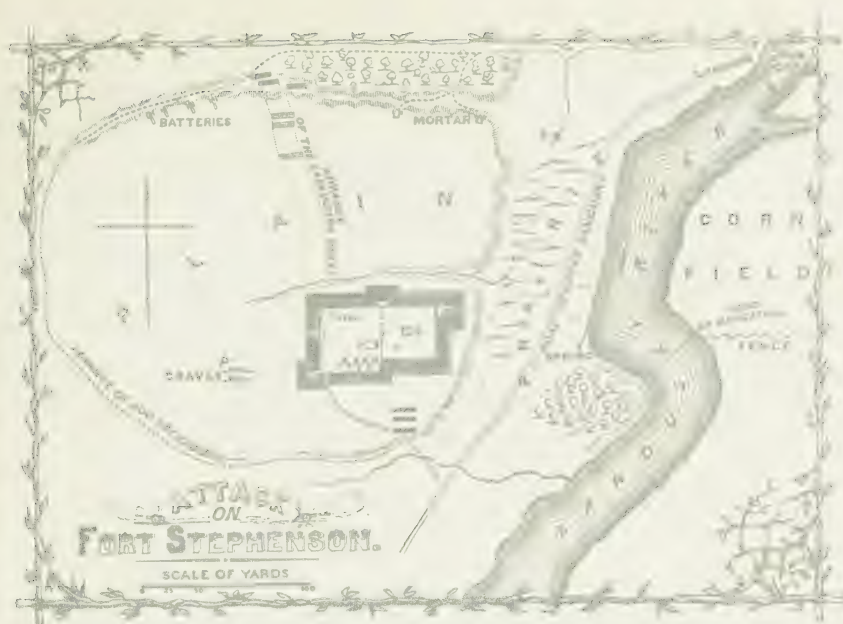
The picturesque episode of the *Nancy*, the fur-trader which became a man-of-war and went down with colors flying, but yet still lives, enshrined at Wasaga Beach, is well known. But the way life went on aboard her in 1813, the middle of her war years, as described by the man who then commanded her, is an interesting chapter in Canadian history so far unread by any save the small band of patient students of research. It is here presented with our very good wishes, and, by fortunate chance, with a quite unintended indorsement by the tar who began putting it all down one hundred and twenty-three years ago.

ROUS & MANN LIMITED, TORONTO, CANADA

is correct.

25th May 1814

Alexander Mackintosh



I.

OF THE SORRY ASSAULT UPON FORT STEPHENSON

★

THE SCENE OF THIS COMMENCEMENT of a Scots sailor's literary efforts is the mouth of the Maumee river, in Ohio, at the south-western end of Lake Erie; and the time is the second year of the War of 1812. This last conflict between Great Britain and the United States is usually thus named, like Tchaikovsky's masterpiece; as though it began and ended in this year, or as though it were the only war of the Napoleonic cycle which then distracted the world. To us in Canada it was a great war, and it lasted three years, but abroad it was little noticed at the time and has long been forgotten. For our story, be it remembered that the Americans were invading Canada, and the British parrying by attacking United States posts—vigorously and successfully while Brock lived; less

vigorously and less successfully afterwards, until the navy came into play, and Ross-of-Bladensburg swept up from the sea, and burned the Capitol at Washington.

In the Maumee mouth, accordingly, on this July 24th, 1813, lies at anchor, a little fleet of transports, decks cluttered with war lumber, including Major-General Henry Procter and the sheep carried along for mutton for his table. War duties of shipmasters give place at times to the pastoral ones of feeding the Major-General's flock. Note, on August 2nd, how our tar trades pike and cutlass for shepherd's crook and hayfork on the hostile shores of Sandusky.

THE NANCY OF MOY, fur-trader converted to trooper, is one of several vessels bearing British soldiers for an assault on Fort Stephenson on the Sandusky river, thirty-five miles away from where she swings at anchor. The "Gen'l & Suit", to follow her master's orthography, have come in her with the 41st Regiment of Foot, from Amherstburg, on the Detroit river. On the way to Sandusky, as a feint, the expedition is wasting an attack upon Fort Meigs, on the Maumee, or, as it was then frequently spelled, the Miamia river. To this American post, with the *Nancy* also assisting upon that occasion, unsuccessful siege has been laid in the preceding May.

For the time the log keeper has a front seat in the theatre of wilderness war, from which he watches Indians chase mail-trains and witnesses alarums and excursions, while the "Gen'l & Suit" hunt the duck of Fort Stephenson with the brass band of a shamfight before a fortress which has already successfully defied them.

REMARKS ON BOARD THE SCHOONER NANCY
at anchor in the river Miamia, in the month of July, 1813

- Saturday 24 *First part of this day very warm and clear weather.*
At about 1 p.m. Major Chambers of the 41st & Doctor Ogilvie passed by from Amherstburg for Headquarters. Latter part, at daylight our Troops crossed the river & took up a position opposite the Old Fort Miamia & about 2 miles below Fort Meigs.
- Sunday 25 *Fore part of this day sent the men for wood. I go up to Headquarters & from there within gunshot of the American Fort. Several boats passed by, some from Amherstburg and one from River Raisin.*
Nothing of importance is done by our troops this day, a surmise of our intended expedition being sent to lower Sandusky.
In the afternoon I return on board; rec'd a 6-pounder limber on board & sent some ball cartridges up, with some flints.
- Monday 26 *Unmoored. The hauser broke in several places, spliced it again. Moored again with the hedge athwart the river. The men employ'd making wads for the guns.*
Yesterday our cooking pan was found on board the Ellen. Latter part heavy thunder, sharp lightning & heavy showers of rain, wind variable from the westward.
Sharp firing is distinctly heard in the direction of the American fort. Since heard of its being a skirmish between the Indians and Americans. A mail was taken by the Indians from some Americans. These effected their escape by throwing the Mail away and running to the Fort.
About 9 p.m. a boat passed downwards, the men singing English. At a loss to know who they are, sent to the Commissary to enquire, who says it is a boat coming down for provisions. At about 12 o'clock they return up again, having overshot the vessels, and inform us of three boats being down Swan Creek. On her going down she was several times hailed but no answer was made.

REMARKS ON BOARD THE SCHOONER NANCY
on her pafsage to Sandusky, in the month of July, 1813

Saturday 31

At 5 A.M. hove up, larboard tack aboard, light airs at South & clear weather. At 6 starboard tack aboard. At 7 see a boat coming round the east end of Put In Bay Island. Suppose her to be a boat from Amherstburg loaded with bread for the Troops. At 9 she joins us—correct in our supposition. At noon both our Gun boats come alongside. Light airs at E.N.E., larboard tack aboard. Pass Cunningham's Island, Keep the lead agoing, from five to 7 fathoms water.

At 2 p.m. put about, starboard tack aboard. Shortened sail, the Ellen astern, distant about a mile or two. At 3 came to in 5 fathoms water, with the best bower, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the S W side of the Bay, Handed sails and commenced unloading Guns & artillery. Several of our canoes & boats inshore under weigh, doubling the Point of the Bay.

At 4 P.M. the Gen'l & suit go on shore. The Ellen joins, comes to about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from us.

I several times applied to the Gen'l (previous to his departure) for instructions but could get no positive assurance from him, the only one was that I should wait until the 2 Six pounders which were in the Gun boats should be sent off to me.

The last of the boats go off to join the others. Light breezes at E.N.E. & pleasant weather. Cleared up the decks. At 8 P.M. set the watch, with orders to give immediate notice on seeing any craft or light.



OUR WAR LOG BEGINS as quoted, in the midst of alarms, on Saturday, July 24th, 1813, in a general memorandum book which had been in desultory use for some years previously.

Alexander Mackintosh, the log keeper, is the master of the 80-foot schooner *Nancy*. He is a kinsman of that Lady of Moy who harbored Prince Charles Edward, and, tartan clad, with pistols at her saddlebow, rode at the head of three hundred men of the clan Mackintosh, and caused the famous Rout of Moy far away and long ago, in Scotland in the Forty-five. Her son Angus, voluntary exile from Scotia's shores, built a frontier mansion and trading post on the south side of the Detroit river, towards the end of the eighteenth century, and called it Moy House. It was in the limits of the present city of Windsor, and was famed for its hospitality. The little port formed about it was known as Moy. This Hon. Angus McIntosh, as his name is spelled, appears to be the uncle of Alexander Mackintosh, who uses the longer spelling of the family name in the logbook. He, Angus, was a factor for the Northwest Fur Company, and was probably part owner of the *Nancy*. He was appointed a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada in 1820, but in 1831 returned to Scotland as the Mackintosh and head of the Mackintosh clan, to take possession of his ancestral estate at Moy Hall in Inverness-shire.

PERHAPS "MY UNCLE," whom Alexander holds in great reverence, has just written:

"Seeing that you are now engag'd upon an Important Enterprise in His Majesty's Service it is fitting that you do keep an exact Logg or Journall".

and the dutiful Alexander has seized upon the first moment and material to hand for doing so. Or perhaps Alexander used up an old logbook on July 23rd, and is forced to continue in this makeshift.

So far as we know this is the only log of the *Nancy* which has survived. It may be that all others perished with her when, under the broadsides of an American fleet, she sank in the Nottawasaga river, with colors flying defiantly, on August 14th, 1814. This scrapbook, containing log-entries from July, 1813, to March, 1814, and some records of accounts and tally sheets for 1811 and 1812, is a manuscript of sixty-five pages, seemingly all in Alexander Mackintosh's hand. It was secured by the Library of McGill University, Montreal, at a catalogue sale, in 1904, of the L. K. Masson Collection of Canadiana. Twenty-eight of the pages are devoted to miscellaneous matters and thirty-seven to log-keeping.

Duller parts, relating to weather and routine, have been omitted for the sake of clarity, in the reproductions from our *Nancy's* war log. But this is not the explanation for four days' entries following July 26th being missing. Capt. Mackintosh had to crowd the end of the one for the 26th into the margin. The succeeding page begins with the last day of July, with the transports on their way at last to Sandusky.

Reference to "Put-In Bay Island" here refutes the common explanation that this member of the Bass group in Lake Erie was so named because Commodore Perry "put in" there with his prizes after battle. The Battle of Put-In Bay (September 10th, 1813) was yet to be fought when Alexander Mackintosh made this entry. He calls the same place Pudding Bay. Lake pronunciation of the name always accents the first syllable, making the name "Puddin' Bay" or "Puttin' Bay." The harbor, almost landlocked, is a noted regatta centre and summer resort.

* * *

THE WRECKAGE which our strolling mariner notices on the shore may have been from the American schooner *Salina*, a fur-trader captured at Mackinac by the British in the preceding summer, and wrecked and burned in the ice in Lake Erie in the winter of 1812-13. Capt. Mackintosh at one time sailed the *Salina*, for she was British built, and had been sold to Capt. Dobbins, of Erie, Pa., before the war.

There is a feud between these two "daughters of the regiment," the *Nancy* and the *Ellen*, carrying the 41st, or Second Somersetshires, as the corps was also known. The *Nancy's* cooking-pan, possibly a deck-stove or brazier, has been found on board the *Ellen*, doubtless to the great relief of the major-general with the appetite for fresh mutton. Capt. Mackintosh heaps coals of fire under the cooking pan by sending back some of the *Ellen's* cordage which turns up on board the *Nancy*. It is spurned with cruel words. One can see from this that the *Ellen* will come to no good end.

Nor did she. She was a smaller schooner than the *Nancy*, measuring 59 tons burthen. She was owned by Richard Partinson or Pattinson and valued at £500 province currency by him, and had been taken into the public service at that valuation by Major-General Procter on June 15th, 1813. She was burned by Procter's orders on October 3rd, in his disastrous retreat up the Thames. Her hull is in the river to this day, although President Clarence M. Burton, of the Michigan Historical Society, bought it in 1906. He was not permitted to remove it.

REMARKS ON BOARD THE SCHOONER NANCY

at anchor in Sandusky Bay, in the month of August, 1813

Sunday, 1
August

First part of this day light breezes at East & clear pleasant weather. Some men employed mending fore topgallant sail and main topsail.

I go on shore. Discover the Crutch, Horse Piece & part of a Main Boom belonging to a vessel. The Ellen's boat passes by for Sandusky River. I return on board. About 3 p.m. heard gunfire in the direction of Sandusky.

Latter part of this day sent a ps. of rope to Mr. Miller, commanding the Ellen, which had been taken by mistake from his vessel on the Monday night of our departure from Amherstburg. He refuses to receive it, at the same time accusing the Men who came out with him of having stolen it.

At 4 P.M. wind encreases. At 7 paid out more cable & set the Main Stay up.

Discern a sail doubling the west end of Pudding Bay Island. Suppose her to be the Chippewa.

Monday, 2
August

At 8 A.M. see the same vessel beating up for us to leeward of Cunningham's Island.

At 9 went on shore, i.e., on the River Huron side of Sandusky Lake. Discover several fresh human tracks & a number of tracks of cattle.

Stood into the Lake (that is, Sandusky Bay) & hauled up for a Bay on the larboard hand. See nothing. Returned to the opposite shore & took some hay on board for the Sheep.

REMARKS ON BOARD THE SCHOONER NANCY
at anchor in Sandusky Bay, in the month of August, 1813
(after feeding Major-General Procter's sheep)

Monday, 2
August

At about 4 P.M. heard several guns fired in the direction of Sandusky. The Chippewa makes a signal, blue at the fore top-gallant masthead & ensign at main peak. Answered hoisting the ensign at the staff head.

At 5 she passes by, I suppose with an intention of running into the (Sandusky) lake. Go in pursuit of her with the boat, to warn her of going into shoal water. She comes to. (I this day sounded the entrance into the Lake Sandusky & across the entrance discover a channel about 20 fathoms wide with soundings of 4 to 5 fathom water running in a S.W. direction & close over to the larboard shore, or River Huron side. On the north west side of the entrance there is a shoal which runs off some distance, say $\frac{1}{4}$ mile on which there is in some places 3 feet water & most 6 to 5 feet.)

A boat arrives from the camp of the army for provisions. Col. Evans of the 41st Reg't with several officers & men arrive in the Chippewa to join the army.

At 8 P.M. set the watches. Mounted a 3-pou'r field piece on deck.

THIS RECOGNITION SIGNAL which the *Chippewa* exchanged was one of the last which that little man-of-war made. A pair of her signal pendants, triangular flags, striped red-white-and-red, form part of the trophy display in the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. They commemorate her capture in the ensuing Battle of Put-In Bay, where, with her nine-pound "broadside," she headed the British line. At this time all the British war craft were pitifully under gunned. The *Nancy's* maximum armament was six carriage guns and six swivels. It is doubtful if she ever mounted so many, but she was rated in 1800 as capable of being so equipped. She had some 6-pounders, for we found the balls for them when her sunken hull was recovered in 1927. At the outbreak of the war her guns were used to arm patrol boats for the Detroit river. Probably the last pair of her 6-pounders was taken for the gunboats for the Sandusky expedition. Mackintosh seems to have been worrying already about getting them back; and very soon afterwards he was using them in a fight for his own and the *Nancy's* life. Meantime we find him forced to content himself with a tiny land-cannon. Before her final fight in the Nottawasaga river, in 1814, the *Nancy* had two 24-pound carronades and one long 6. These guns were taken from her and mounted in the blockhouse built for her defence.

ENTRIES IN THE LOGBOOK for August 3rd-19th are missing. They could tell of the abandonment of the siege of Fort Stephenson after the 41st had lost twenty-six killed, twenty-nine wounded and left behind, and forty-one wounded and brought off, in a gallant assault, poorly delivered. The fort was ringed with cedar posts topped with bayonets. The *Nancy* freighted the discomfited Procter back to Amherstburg, with some of the wounded who had escaped capture at Sandusky. She went on up the river to Moy, where she had been lying when the war broke out. Here she loaded down to "the draught of water 7 feet 2 inches" with provisions and stores, principally flour; and on August 31st

"at 10 A.M. sailed from Moy for Mackinac in the service of the Government, wind at west and light, all sail set. Passengers, Capt. Bullock of the 41st Reg't & Family, Mr. David Mitchell, Mr. McCoursoll, & a Mr. J. B. Gregier".

The voyage from Moy to Mackinac, a sailing distance of about 280 miles, occupied ten days, seven of which were passed within an hour's plane flight of the starting point, striving to get up the St. Clair river and rapids at the entrance to Lake Huron.

II.

OF THE GALLANT FIGHT IN THE SAINT CLAIR RIVER



WHILE the *Nancy* is in the north, in September, 1813, the Battle of Put-In Bay has been fought on Lake Erie and the whole British fleet of the Upper Lakes—six sail—captured; Detroit has been evacuated; Amherstburg has been abandoned; Procter is burning the *Ellen* and his gunboats, as he stumbles up the Thames valley to the disaster of Moraviantown; and the American invaders are pouring into Canada.

No one on board the *Nancy* knows anything of this. The last word Alexander Mackintosh has had of affairs in the province is to be gathered from his log entry on September 3rd, when he was still struggling with the adverse current in the St. Clair, and keeping the crew busy making brooms for Mackinac when the schooner was unable to sail.

Michilimackinac, to give the place its full name—Alexander Mackintosh usually reduces it to “Makinac”—was a highly important fort and trading post, in the Straits of Mackinaw, where Lake Superior, Lake Michigan and Lake Huron almost meet. It was captured by British volunteers by a bold stroke ere the War of 1812 was a month old; and it was held by British troops with much heroism, against siege, assault, bombardment and starvation, until the war was over. Its importance consisted in its being the depot from which all the Indian tribes as far west as the Rocky Mountains drew their supplies, and to which they brought their peltries for barter. John Jacob Astor was already trading there. One schooner load of furs from the port was invoiced at \$200,000. And there were several loads in a season. Mackinac made the Astor millions.

Astor knew the *Nancy*. In his old mansion at Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., opposite the *Nancy*'s winter quarters for 1813-14, was found this “Bill of Lading of the Cargo on Board the Schooner *Nancy*, Captain William Mills, master, bound from the Island of St. Joseph's to Michilimackinac.” The name of the master given would place the date of the

bill of lading between 1805 and 1811, before Alexander Mackintosh became commander. Capt. Mills is believed to have been killed in the Niagara frontier fighting of the first winter of the war. The bill of lading accounts for twenty-five barrels, numbered and initialled, forty-nine kegs, two of these of powder, thirty-four bales, nine cases, and two baskets. Of the initials, "N" may be taken for *Nancy* and "HB" for Hudson Bay Company. An "S" after nine of the kegs may be interpreted as "salt," but the others I leave to the more ingenious.

They are "L B", "L F ^O d^{DR}", "B", "MK C", "L", and "B O^{DM}"; but it is only fair to inform the aspiring or perspiring that the last two initials were used before the catch phrase was invented.

The *Nancy* played an important part in supplying the isolated garrison which held this Gibraltar of the north. She ultimately perished in the effort, but her gallant crew not only succeeded in delivering the pork and flour so sorely needed by the troops, but captured, in boarding fights, two of the American schooners which had assisted in destroying her. These, by poetic justice, became the nucleus of a British fleet for the Upper Lakes, after the last British vessel on those lakes had been eliminated by them.

At the end of the war Mackinac and the control of all the tribes of the north-west were Britain's. Mackinac was restored to the United States on the conclusion of peace terms; but had we had no Mackinac with which to negotiate then we would have no Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta or British Columbia now. Mackinac meant the Canadian north-west. Carrying flour thither was no mean contribution to Empire.

In the north the *Nancy* has been moving troops and guns and stores between Mackinac and St. Joseph's and Sault Ste. Marie. Now she is on her way back to Moy with some sugar from the northern wilds—maple sugar, maybe—government gunpowder and ordnance for Amherstburg, and some passengers—Mr. David Mitchell, who had made the voyage up in her; a Mr. Reaume, who plays a dubious part in the following proceedings; and another war-dragged family, Capt. Maxwell, from St. Mary's, with his wife and children, and a female passenger, who also, saith the log, "was left on the beach."

As you shall hear.

REMARKS ON BOARD THE SCHOONER NANCY
on her pafsage to Makinac, in the month of September, 1813

Friday 3 We were this day informed by an Indian Chief called Black Bird that on the 1st Gen'l Procter with all his Troops had gone to Amherstburg, on the Am'n Fleet appearing off that place to the number of 5 Sail.

Finished 14 brooms this day.—Handed all sail at 8 P M set the watch—clear cool weather.

Borrowed four dollars of Jno. Martin's money to buy Prov & potatoes (four my own) Wrote to Moy.

REMARKS ON BOARD THE SCHOONER NANCY
on her pafsage to Moy from Michilimackinac, in the month of October, 1813

Tuesday 5 At 2 gain sight of the (St. Clair) mouth. At 3 P M came too in 4 fathom water about a mile from the River's mouth, hoisted the boat out & sent 4 hands with a Mr. Reaume & Tromp on shore to enquire of the Inhabitants what state the country was in about Detroit. On the Boat's attempting to come off she was struck by a sea which filled the boat. Lost the boat's rudder.

At 5 P M sent the boat off again for Reaume & Tromp, but to no purpose. It is impossible for the boat to land or get the men off. Jacob, who goes in the boat, learns from Reaume that the Fort is taken (but which Fort, Jacob could not ascertain). He comes on board, upon which I call Capt. Maxwell, Mr. D. Mitchell & Jacob into the cabbin to consult what is best to be done, myself being of the opinion that as we are short of provisions & the wind appearing to continue to blow fresh from the northward (as it is at present with a heavy sea running) it would be best to run into the River's mouth, which was agreed to by the others.

AFTER a thirty-hour run down Lake Huron—good time for the two hundred miles—the *Nancy* sights the mouth of the St. Clair river. A less cautious captain would have gone booming down the rapids, making the most of the fair wind which brought him, and would have run right into the arms of the invaders. But instead, Alexander Mackintosh anchors a mile off shore, and while the *Nancy* tosses in the strong wind and rough sea, he hoists out the long-boat and sends it ashore to enquire the state of the country. The boat first goes off with four sailors to man her and a fifth sailor, J. B. Tromp, and the passenger Reaume, to undertake scout duty. The "Jacob" who goes in the boat on her second trip is Jacob Hammond, the *Nancy's* mate, a dull dog, who gives Capt. Mackintosh trouble from time to time. On his return, after failing to pick up the scouting party, a council of war is held.

The *Nancy's* accommodations were good. They were highly praised by those who used them. We know, from the wreckage recovered, that she had tableware with tiny gilt stars and gay enamelled flower-patterns, and glass of superior quality. The cabin occupied the space under the quarter-deck, and was lighted from without by the stern windows and a skylight and portlights. Within it had candles.

Around the table, bolted to the deck of the little saloon where all dined, are gathered Alexander Mackintosh, young, grim, bearded; Jacob Hammond, his mate, surly, unhelpful; Capt. Maxwell, soldier, not oblivious of the fact that he has his family and household goods on board; and Mitchell, another passenger, anxious over his trade wares. Of all, only one man is single-minded and firm of purpose, Alexander Mackintosh, who has "never given up public goods to save private".

From the curtained berths on either side of the saloon, women and children peep, fearful of the decision, whatever it may be—to beat back to hungry Mackinac, with their own provisions already low, to run the risk of capture by two American gunboats and the schooners *Tigress* and *Scorpion*, which they hear are waiting for them, or to fight the *Nancy* to the last and then blow her sky high.

Mackintosh knows his vessel cannot ride where she is, on a lee shore in a freshening gale. She must have the shelter of the river. He evidently says at this point what he says later, that he will blow her up, because the man of war and the man of trade prepare to get their dependents and belongings out of her at the first opportunity.

NOT only does the *Nancy* seek the shelter of the river mouth but she sails some distance down the stream. Why, with hostile forces about him afloat and ashore, did Alexander Mackintosh risk being trapped in the river below the rapids which had given him such difficulty to stem, and which always presented an obstacle against winning the open lake?

The answer must be that the *Nancy's* cable had again been broken and her largest anchor, the "best bower," was at the bottom of Lake Huron. Both anchor and cable were for the moment useless to the vessel, and it is probable that the smaller anchor and second cable were not heavy enough to hold her in the mouth of the river, with the heavy north wind and lake seas augmenting the current. This formerly ran at the rate of six or seven miles per hour at this spot.

The "Sambrinards" mentioned a little later was an Indian village on the British bank of the St. Clair, where Mackintosh was well known. He bought canoes from there on the passage up.



REMARKS AND OCCURENCES ON BOARD THE NANCY
on her pafsage to Moy from Michilimak̄inac, in the month of October, 1813

Tuesday 5
continued

Upon which we get under weigh, & in so doing break the cable & (so) leave the (best) anchor behind (in Lake Huron.) At 6 came to in $\frac{1}{4}$ less 6 (fathoms) below the rappids, handed all sails & sent the boat for Mr. Reaume & Tromp (who could walk around from the lake beach to the river side). They came on board and relate what they heard from an Indian & Frenchman, of Detroit & Amherstburg being in the hands of the Americans.

After supper I go myself to the British side of the river to collect what information I can. Return on board at 11. Set the watch, a man on each side of the deck.

Wednesday 6

At daylight of this day an Indian comes on board who had the evening before fallen with Reaume, & at my request went down on the British side of the river to see if any gunboats were coming up.

Reaume, Mitchell & Capt. Maxwell went ashore also to procure craft to take their property from on board. Soon after, say about an hour, the Indian returned, saying that there were some American horse on the way up.

About $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour elapsed, & finding that no horse made their appearance I sent Tromp ashore, with orders to proceed down as far as Sambrinards & not to return unless he saw the enemy advancing.

He had not been long absent from the Nancy when a crowd appeared on the bank below the vefsel, which I immeadiately took for the Americans, & was determined from the first alarm to blow the vefsel up.

This made Capt. Maxwell hurry with his family ashore. There was another female pafsenger who was also left on the beach.

The pafsengers were now all absent from the vefsel. (The boat had just got alongside after landing them) when they were all made prisoners on shore. I soon after saw a canoe crofsing below with a white flag & as full as they could cram.

Soon after, which was about 1 P M, some person sung out from the woods to surrender the vefsel, that my property & that of the men's should not be touched.

I hailed in turn to know whom it was, when the person stepped out & again repeated the same thing.

WHO was it who thus stepped forth?

In a letter to Capt. Richard Bullock, officer commanding at Mackinac, the *Nancy's* commander said, this being his official report:

"About noon a white flag was seen coming towards us in a canoe. About half an hour afterwards I was hailed from the shore by a Canadian, ordering me to give up the vessel, and (saying) that my property, as also that of the crew, should be respected. I went ashore to see who this man was. It was Lieutenant-Colonel Beaubien, of the militia, who wished me to surrender the vessel to him, repeating what he had already said."

Mackintosh knew the Beaubiens. One family of them were neighbors of his uncle at Moy. Another Beaubien was established on the St. Clair river below the Indian village where the *Nancy* had wooded on the upward passage. There were Beaubiens on both sides of the river. Whether the militia this colonel commanded was American or Canadian the written record does not specify, but their actions were those either of armed enemies or of armed traitors.

From the fact that the *Nancy's* two guns were both run out on the larboard (left hand) side for the fight it appears that those attacking her were on the west bank of the St. Clair river, and therefore might be assumed to be American troops from the State of Michigan.

REMARKS ON BOARD THE SCHOONER NANCY
on her pafsage to Moy, in the month of October, 1813

Wednesday 6
continued

The wind had been light all morning, but there was now a little more & strong enough at times to stem the current. We were some times sailing & often obliged to come too. When Beaubien hailed we were under weigh & had gained about 3 cable lengths. I went to him with the boat to know more particularly what he wanted. He again repeated what he had already said, & likewise that no part of the private or public property should be saved.

I asked an hour to give my answer, retd. to the vefsel, got both guns on the larboard side (the vefsel was now at anchor) & asked my men if they would surrender or fight and defend the vefsel.

They all one after the other said they would, upon which I went back to Beaubien, gave him my answer. He then said if I attempted to go out of the river he would fire on me the moment I should heave up, to which I replied I would return the fire. He said he had fifty men.

I went back to the vefsel, hung the Boat in the tackles, hove up, & while fishing the anchor they gave us a volley, which we immediately returned & kept it up for a good quarter of an hour (the vefsel all the time barely going ahead, with a light wind at S W, course about N N W.) They then escaped & went off, whether for want of powder or that we had killed or wounded any of them I know not.

Joseph Paquet was the only man who was hurt, & which was from the blowing up of a couple of cartridges (for the guns) one of which set the mainsail on fire, but soon extinguished it. Two shots in the mainboom—one in cabbin—one in Foremast, squaresail, and mainsail.

NOT so fast, bonny fechter, to close the record of the day, though your fingers may loathe the quill pen which enters up the logbook, after you have calloused them with the bullet-nicked tiller head, and the linstocks of the guns, and the wet weight of the tracking-line with which you try to heave up the rapids. You do not mention, in your logbook, your own post in the fight. Here is not the place to tell how, swinging your cutlass, you decapitate the negro gunner of the *Tigress* when he is pulling the lanyard that would have swept the deck of friend and foe, and how, as his black body falls against you, you heave it overboard, crying "Follow your heid, mon, follow your heid!" You cannot record this now, for it will not happen till ten months later, when you have lost the *Nancy* for good and all. But you might include here in the log what you write to Capt. Bullock when you send in your report:

"During the action I was placed at the helm and exposed to the whole of their fire, but luckily escaped. Several shots struck the mainboom"—which would be just at the height of your head—"and railing"—which was body-high around your raised quarter-deck. "No person was injured from their fire, but the blowing up of a couple of cartridges burnt one of the men severely on the face and hands. Whether it was from a piece of the cartridge or their fire, our mainsail was blazing, which was no sooner seen than extinguished. During the engagement my men behaved with the greatest coolness, and I cannot say too much of them."

REMARKS ON BOARD THE SCHOONER NANCY
on her pafsage to Moy, in the month of October, 1813

Tuesday 6
continued

About sunset we came to the foot of the rappids & got a tracking (line ashore) but were obliged to anchor after being about 2 hours trying to get up, for want of wind.

About 10 P M Reaume came to the vefsel with a letter from Beau-bien on the same purport. I made no reply. Reaume & Jacob were of opinion & advised me to heave the gunpowder overboard & give the vefsel up, that there was no saving the vefsel.

I replied I would never heave any public property overboard to save private. Says Reaume, "It is Capt. Maxwell's opinion that you should throw the powder overboard & give up the vefsel." My reply was, "No, I will not, let the consequences be what they will, I will attempt to get into the lake & go for Makinac."

"Well," says Reaume, "you will give up the goods to Douseman."

THE only light we have on this retort of Beaubien's emissary is an entry in the logbook two weeks previously, when the *Nancy* was on her way to Mackinac from the island of St. Joseph:

"At half past eight hove to off Pipe Island for a canoe from Montreal, Mr. Douseman on board, bound for Mackinac, with goods."

Seemingly the *Nancy* had some of Douseman's trade goods in her hold for this interrupted "pafsage to Moy". If Reaume's remark read "You will give up the goods of Douseman" it might be an attempt to play upon the master's distinction between private goods and government property.

It must have been a long black night for Alexander Mackintosh, lying wide awake, listening to the sobbing of the current and the growls of his first mate at being called for anchor watch. With daylight, merrily clicks the windlass 'round, for the wind has come strong enough to stem the river flow, and after forty-five minutes the rapids are conquered. The victorious *Nancy* crew fire three guns and give three cheers, in defiance of every obstacle and all King George's enemies, and steer for the lost anchor on the Huron shore.

Capt. Mackintosh probably buoyed his best bower, before letting it go from the cathead, which was the custom of early navigators. Or he must have taken particularly good cross bearings and ranges of his temporary anchorage, for he locates the lost ground tackle without delay, and so is prepared to face the vicissitudes of a two hundred mile voyage "to either Mackinac or St. Joseph's" in a season of tempest, up an inland sea unlighted save by the moon and Indian campfires.

REMARKS AND OCCURENCES ON BOARD THE NANCY
on her return pafsage to either Makinac or St. Josephs, in October, 1813

Thursday 7 About 4 A M Jonas & Jacob having the morning watch (for I had doubled the anchor watch) Jonas called Jacob, who refused to turn out, saying "he be damned, that he already had a watch, & would not go." This I heard whilst in my bed, for I did not sleep a wink all night but turned in all standing, ready at a moments call.

First part of this 24 hours showery, & light breezes of wind at South, but not sufficiently strong to stem the rappid. At daylight called all hands, hove up & made sail, moderate breezes from the Southward. Hung the boat in the tackles. At about 8 A M enter the lake, after being about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour in the rappid.

We then fired 3 guns & cheered 3 times, made sail & bore up for the anchor wich we left behind on our pafsage downwards.

Succeed in recovering it, made all secure on deck, & stowed the hold. At noon fresh breezes from the W S W, occasionally took in topgallant sails as required. Course N by W $\frac{1}{2}$ W, keeping close in with the land, fearing the wind to head.

At 4 p.m. bent the small bower again. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 squally from the W S W, took a reef in each of the topsails & set topgallant sails over them, the Point of Bark distant about 8 miles, course NNW. At 6 all sail set, fresh breezes & cloudy weather. At 8 took in topgallant sails and flying jibb $\frac{1}{2}$ boom in. At 11 handed the squaresail and single reefed the mainsail. Wind encreases to a gale from W N W, showery.

Friday 8 First part of this 24 hours still continues to blow fresh from the same quarter. At 6 A M close reefed the fore topsail & handed the main one. Wore ship to the westward, wind N W by W. At 11 wind W S W, wore ship to the northward. At 2 P M a heavy squall from the W N W with hail. Settled the foretopsail on the cap. At 4 wind N W & blowing harder than at any time. Handed the foretopsail. Wore ship to the westward, rolling gunnel in. Handed the foresail.

III.

OF THE BATTLE WITH LAKE HURON



RIGHT glad are they of the big anchor "ere a' the ploy was played." As feared, the wind comes ahead and blows an October gale, till the reefed *Nancy* rolls gunwale in. Every two hours they pump her, but, although she is now in her twenty-fifth season, "she makes no more than usual" saith the log. Seeing her remains at Wasaga Beach a century afterwards one can appreciate the splendid ship carpentry and splendid ship timber which went to her making. When she was lifted from the Nottawasaga river bed in 1927 the scarfing of her keel and stem was as perfect a fit as when she was launched into the Detroit river in 1789. This is written on a desk built from the timbers of twenty-three historic vessels, and it includes small portions of the red cedar and white oak of which the *Nancy* was constructed. The white oak has turned a deep black from contact with iron fastenings and the vegetable dyes of the river water, but it is tough as whalebone, and takes a polish like ebony. It dismounted the circular saw set to cut it. The red cedar has become a deep seal brown in color, and rubs as smooth as satin; still its fibres preserve the resinous aroma of the tree felled a century and a half ago.

On the fifth day of this gale the sea is mountainous, the wind blowing yet harder, and the *Nancy* has to be hove-to—that is, halted without anchoring ("trying" is Alexander Mackintosh's term). This is effected by balancing the forward push of the close-reefed mainsail against the backward thrust of the jib hauled a-weather; and this is all the sail the *Nancy* dare show. She soars and dives like a lake gull, with the wind on her starboard bow, pointed southwest, but really driving off sidewise south and east with the shouldering of the giant seas and the pressure of the screaming gale.

It will be noticed that, so strong is the force of the wind and sea, whenever the *Nancy* has to turn from one course to the other she "wears." That is turns around before the wind, instead of trying to tack.

REMARKS ON BOARD THE SCHOONER NANCY
on her return passage to Maçinac or St. Josephs, in the month of October, 1813

Sunday 10 Wore ship to the eastward, wind N N E with a mountainous sea. Carried away the boom guy & stranded the Main spring stay. Cut & spliced again. Handed the main top sail & flying jibb.

At 8 A M cold raw weather. At noon wind N N W with snow. At 2 P M wind N W & blows a gale. Close reefed the mainsail & hove the vefsel too. At 8 wore ship to S W, starboard tacks aboard, still continuing to blow very hard, with rain, sleet & snow.

Monday 11 Still trying, under the jibb & doubled reefed mainsail. Kept the pump a-going, every 2 hours.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past noon having occasion to put some service on the main peak ty, which had already made a hole in the mainsail, Joseph Lamotte descried the land on our lee, distant about 12 miles, which from the appearance, & our lying too for 16 hours with our starboard tacks aboard, I naturally supposed was the land between the point of Bark & Saginaw. It was now blowing as fresh as it had at any time from the Westward.

Between 2 & 3 P M we bore up (ran before the wind) and steered E N E keeping sight of the land at intervals, for it was now almost one continual squall of snow. At 4 finding we neared the land hauled up N E & N N E, still in hopes of its being the above land. At 5 the land still appearing on our lee bow again hove too under the jibb & doubled reefed main sail.

Wind is now at W S W, the vefsel heading N N W & making very good weather, though a tremendous sea running; a dismal looking night, frequent squalls of snow, the gale continuing as hard as at its commencement.

Tuesday 12 Just as the watch was called at midnight, I gave directions to Jacob Hammond the mate to keep a particular look out, for that at times the moon, when obscured, gave the Horizon very much the appearance of land & that as the moon shone it would disappear.

Tuesday 12 He at once jumped up in the boat (which being stowed in chocks over the main hatch would offer the highest point of view from on board) & was positive of its being the land which we had all along seen.

I immeadiately ordered the lead to be hove, when to our great surprise we found ourselves in 14 fathom water. Both anchors were immeadiately got ready, but before we could get them off the bows we were in 7½ fathom. They were then let go, when after giving her the whole of the cables nearly she brought (up).

We then took in sail & handed them, clinched the best & small bower round the mainmast, chocked up the windlass from the deck, and between the foremast & windlass bitt, which had already canted about 3 inches—the vefsel pitching bows in, & it blowing if anything more violent than ever.

Got the squaresail booms in upon deck, bent a new hawser to the Kedge & let it go under foot, battened down the Hatches, braced the yards fore and aft, cleared the Boat & got the oars ready—in short made every thing as snug as possible (for a fight for life)—for on the squalls clearing away we could distinctly see the breakers astern about a cable lenth distant, the land appearing about 2 miles.

What now must the reader think of our situation, on a lee shore, riding out a most violent gale of wind in the month of October, with 2 very indifferent cables, & them of only 60 fathoms each in length, with a scanty stock of provisions, consisting of one ps. of pork & ½ a quarter of mutton? Tis true we had enough Biscuit, but what nourishment was it for men constantly wet & wore out?

At daylight our situation was indeed a most critical one,—shoals in every direction to leeward of us, with some Islands which would have given us some shelter were we under their lee, but we dare not attempt to weigh (anchor to get there), lest we be cast upon the shoals.

REMARKS AND OCCURENCES ON BOARD THE NANCY
on her return pafsage to Makinac or St. Josephs, in the month of October, 1813

Tuesday 12 *The wind had chopped round to W N W from W S W, which made us roll gunnel in at times. We attempted to shorten in our cables, but it come on to blow in squalls, which obliged us to leave them. All day the weather still continued squally with sleet & rain, and a severe shower of hail.*

Wednesday 13 *For the first time the weather cleared up to enable us to see to some distance, when we could perceive nothing but shoals & Islands as far as the eye could carry.*

The land bore & run from us N N W & S $\frac{1}{2}$ W & to appearance level, intersected with bays, or channels round islands.

At 6 P M wind at N W by W & moderate, the Vefsel continues to roll & pitch very much. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 a heavy squall from the N W, accompanied with hail, which continues about a $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour. Latter part of the night strong gusts of wind & hail—very piercing cold weather.



WHAT the reader will assuredly think is that it was highly fortunate that the *Nancy* recovered her best bower before starting up Lake Huron.

Having to clinch the cables around the mainmast and shore up the windlass shows the height and fury of the seas. These must have been tremendous, to tear the solidly built windlass bitts out of her with the tug of the cables, and compel making these fast around the foot of the main mast. This is a mariner's penultimate resort. His final resource, when all other fastenings failed, would be to lead the cables around the stern of the vessel, and hold her bodily in the bight so formed.

Bracing yards fore and aft, and getting squaresail booms in, was an expedient known as pointing, intended to reduce the windage on the top-hamper of square-rigged vessels. The *Nancy*, although a schooner, had three square yards on each mast. Pointing was only resorted to when the vessel was in peril of dragging her anchors or parting her cables from the strain of the wind pressure. The *Nancy's* cables were not chain, but hemp, which chafes on the bottom and cuts on rocks. Clearing the boat and getting the oars ready are further proof of the master's fear that at any moment she might drive into the breakers and burst in staves.

When the *Nancy* turned her right cheek to the smiter and hove-to on the starboard tack, Thunder Bay Island on the western or Michigan shore of Lake Huron bore north, distant eight miles. Her master expected her to forge ahead westerly, as she rode, and so somewhat counterbalance her drift to the eastward. He knew she was blowing off to the southward, and thought to pick up the land on the north end of the great Saginaw peninsula, near Pointe aux Barques, some fifty miles to the south, but still on the west shore of the lake. When land did appear he supposed himself in the mouth of Saginaw Bay, a great indentation open to the northeast. He let her run off to the eastward to avoid being caught on the "Nail of the Thumb," as this part of the peninsula which forms the bay is called. But the fury of the gale was such that the *Nancy* appears to have sidled all the way across the lake, to the eastern or Canadian shore. Steering eastward then only brought danger nearer.

REMARKS AND OCCURENCES ON BOARD THE NANCY
on her return pafsage to Makinac or St. Josephs, in the month of October, 1813

Thursday 14 At noon (a lull), still cold & severe. Men employed & sundry jobs repairing damages done in the gale. A canoe with 3 Indians came along side. Hoisted the colours. Make out from them that we are in the neighbourhood of La Closhe, about 80 miles from the rapids of River St. Clair.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 P M fresh breeze at S E. hove up & made all sail, course West.

Previous to looseing sails, hove up the small bower, find it very much chaffed. The bottom is of a limestone cast & from appearance sharp rock.

Friday 15 At 6 A M, the Thunder Bay Islands once more in sight, distant about 4 miles. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 pafs Middle Island, distant about 2 miles. Opposite Thunder Bay Islands, close reefed the fore topsail, blowing a gale.

At 4 P M close in with the Detour, wind hauls to W N W, wore ship to S W, cloudy & cold weather. Wore ship again to the N N W at 5, set top gallant sails. At 7 came too about a mile inside of Frying Pan Island & about 5 miles from St. Josephs in 6 fathoms water, with the best bower. Handed all sails, wind at present from the Westward, cloudy but more settled weather.— At 8 set the anchor watch.

Saturday 16 All this day calm & cloudy. A number of canoes pafs by for Makinac & Montreal. By one I write to Montreal & by another to Capt. Bullock, commanding Makinac.

PRESENT day equivalent of La Closhe or La Cloche on the Huron shore is not known. But this is where our *Nancy* finds herself one week after leaving the St. Clair river, eighty miles away. Navigation was vastly uncertain and frequently tedious in the days before steam.

From the courses recorded in the log where the convenient row of dots relieve the reader's eye of puzzling initials and figures, it is clear that when the *Nancy* resumes her voyage she steers west for five hours and a half, then northwest for two hours, northwest by west for two hours, and west by north for two hours more; all the while with a strong whole-sail breeze from southeast and south, increasing to gale strength. These courses bring her again in sight of Thunder Bay on the west side of the lake—where she was five days before, when the tempest became too strong for her. Plotting them in reverse order on the Lake Huron chart places her perilous anchorage of October 12-14th in the vicinity of Baie du Dore, twelve miles north of Kincardine, Ont. This, it can be objected, is ninety nautical miles from the St. Clair river, or a hundred land miles, not eighty. Eighty miles from the St. Clair brings us to Pine Point, better known as Clark Point, on the Canadian shore.

This might represent the *Nancy's* unwelcome landfall on October 12th, but the courses steered from here would not bring her in sight of Thunder Bay without making a phenomenal amount of leeway with the fair wind she had. Pine Point is twenty miles or more south of Baie du Dore. The sketch map Alexander Mackintosh scratched in the margin of his log is just large enough to be an accurate memorandum of his anchorage, but not sufficient to definitely identify the shoreline on a modern map, nor do the bearings of the land in the logbook entry of October 13th clarify the location.

Note the satisfaction with which the honest Scot records returning all the gunpowder after risking his life to save it from the enemy.

REMARKS AND OCCURENCES ON BOARD THE NANCY
on her return pafsage to Maķinac or St. Josephs, in the month of October, 1813

Sunday 17 *At daylight got under weigh for Maķinac. Single reefed the mainsail & main topsail, rain & cold wind N by E. At half past ten, close in with Bois Blanc Island, got both anchors ready, thick rainy weather and blowing very fresh.*

Impossible to clear the land, obliged to come too in $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathom water with both anchors. Before we could (take) the mainsail in it blows to pieces.

At 11 this weather clears up more, see Maķinac, distant about 4 miles. Some people appear on the shore. Hoisted the Jack. They go off again.

Monday 18 *At daylight bent the other mainsail & hove up the small bower. At 8 the best bower, made sail, beating up for Maķinac, wind W.N.W. & clear cold weather. At 1 P M came too in three fathoms water & about 3 cable lengths from the shore. Handed all sails.*

At 8 P M set the watch. A heavy fall of snow & frost.

Tuesday 19 *All this day blows fresh from the W N W & squally with snow. Discharged a few packages ND and all the gunpowder.*

SO ended the *Nancy's* eventful voyage, begun for Moy seven weeks before; unaccomplished, but with the King's guns and gunpowders saved from the enemy, and one ship left to fly the Union Jack on the Upper Lakes—the *Nancy's* self. Mackintosh only mentions it briefly, but the peril he was in just at the end of the voyage, with his mainsail in ribbons, both anchors down, a lee shore close aboard and only eight feet of water between the *Nancy's* keel and a rocky bottom, was for the moment as great as his prolonged ordeal off La Cloche.

In the letter the Scots skipper sent to his countryman Capt. Bullock from Frying Pan Island, recounting the fight in the St. Clair, he concluded tersely:

“At daylight we got under weigh. At 8 A M we entered the lake, on which we have been fighting the elements these nine days, twice narrowly escaping going ashore.”

But they delivered “all the gunpowder.”



IV.

OF WINTER QUARTERS IN THE WILDERNESS

*

WHEN Alexander Mackintosh got orders to take the *Nancy* to Sault Ste. Marie, and there lay her up for the winter at the Northwest Company's post, he heaved a sigh of content. He knew he could get her there somehow, in spite of the mauling she had received on the way up Lake Huron.

But when these orders were countermanded by others sending him to the wilderness harbor of Matchedash, at the mouth of the Severn river, to bring back a cargo of supplies for Mackinac in November, the wickedest month in the year, he did more than sigh. He swore, and asked for a survey. Because a man was able to crawl to the hospital it did not follow that he could walk the same distance to the mill and bring back a sack of flour.

The survey was granted by Capt. Bullock. It appears that he had written the order to Matchedash the day before he gave the verbal order for Sault Ste. Marie, but it was not delivered for three days.

One can see the examining committee gingerly picking their way among the raffle of wet sails and stranded gear that frosty October morning—"John Askin, Junr. Esqre & Mr. Fred: Oliva & McGulpin, a baker," to quote the log—landsmen all and fearful of their task. Alexander had loosed his tattered sails an hour before they came, and on their arrival he hoisted them up to dry, and the better to display their condition. One of the topsails had to be reefed to keep the head from coming out of it. The spare mainsail was old, only fit for fine weather, the other mainsail in rags. In fact the only decent sails the *Nancy* had were the pair of pocket handkerchiefs set highest of all, her topgallant sails, and the big squaresail spread on the fore yard and squaresail booms when running; three usable for fair weather only. And her cables had been broken and shortened so often that she could only moor in shallow water. Even the landsmen saw she was not safe to send to sea.

REPORT OF EXAMINING COMMITTEE

Michilimackinac, 28th October, 1813

In pursuance of an order date the 25th Inst:—From Captain Richard Bullock of the 41st Regiment Commanding the Post of Michilimackinac—We the undersigned appointed to examine the state and condition of the schooner Nancy whereof Mr. Alexander Mackintosh is commander; do report that the said schooner is not fit to be sent to Matchidash on account of the insufficiency of her sails and cables. The only good sails she has are the two topgallant sails, squaresail & one cable.— The fore top-, main Top-, fore-, & main-sails, jibs, and one cable, unserviceable.

JOHN ASKIN, JR.

FREDK. OLIVER

JOHN MCGULPIN

THIS report accomplished two things—it sent Alexander Mackintosh rejoicing on his way to Sault Ste. Marie, for a lay-up and refit for the *Nancy*, and it determined beyond dispute the details of the *Nancy's* rig for such as are curious in those matters. The rig was antique even in 1813. Schooners with topgallant sails on both masts, or square sails of any kind on more than one mast, became rare with the passing of the eighteenth century.

The *Nancy* reached the Sault in safety after a fortnight of watching her chance; the crew having had to shovel the snow drifts from her deck going up the Neebish channel, and having had to throw overboard all her stone ballast before she could get over the bar of the rapids. Alexander Mackintosh reports six feet of water there, in his log, and six must have been about the *Nancy's* lightest sailing trim.

At the company's post Alexander Mackintosh moored in a small bay, probably in the vicinity of the present government wharf at Sault Ste. Marie. It was within sight of the tiny lock which even earlier than at this time was used to lift laden canoes over the St. Mary's rapids. Here he prepared his vessel for the winter.

There was a small settlement at the Sault, but the *Nancy's* crew were almost as self-dependent as polar explorers. They first slaughtered cattle and swine and salted the beef and pork for their rations. These were according to a scale prepared by the master. They appear to have lived on shore, in some sort of log structure known as "the house," after the *Nancy* was frozen in. The logbook mentions going on board her to work, sometimes over the ice of the little bay, sometimes in a canoe. The crew of 1813 were all employees of the Northwest Fur Co.

The *Nancy* was self-sufficient. Her men not only navigated her but maintained her. When the schooner herself did not occupy their time Alexander Mackintosh, with Scottish thrift, found other work for idle hands. If the weather was too rough for work outside they patched sails, picked oakum, made sennet, or wove plait, and exact account was kept of the pounds made. In the winter of 1812-13, at Moy, Parker, the carpenter, finished twenty-four oars, twelve for the *Nancy* and twelve for the company's store. In the winter of 1813-14, at Sault Ste. Marie the carpenter and his mate had a perfect orgy of over-hauling and repairing, with the assistance of the rest of the crew.

The schooner was first stripped of everything but her lower masts, and the rigging was taken from these. Standing and running gear and sails

were all carefully examined and placed in storage for patching and repairs when the weather was too rough for outside labor. The bowsprit was lifted out. The crew were sent to the bush, where they cut and squared new midship rails, knees and rails for the head, chocks for the boat, hatch-coamings, and other deck fittings, such as fore topsail sheet bitts, and foremast partners. They built a saw-pit and made boards where they felled the trees for the replanking of the quarters of the vessel.

The *Nancy's* figure-head, a young lady in full costume of the period, with hat and feather, had been the object of much solicitude on the part of the Hon. John Richardson, of Forsyth, Richardson and Co., Montreal, when the vessel was built in 1789; the year, by the way, of the taking of the Bastille. He wrote many letters about it. The name of the schooner was given in honor of his wife or daughter—or both, for both ladies were named Ann, and the figurehead was probably intended to suggest a likeness.—It was supported by sweeping head-rails, or curved arms of wood, and Alexander Mackintosh must have taken pains to reproduce the originals, when he renewed them, for he mentions making a mould for them. On page XVIII is a figurehead study.

The crew also made axe-handles and new yards, booms, and topmasts while the *Nancy* was frozen in. When not more nautically employed they had to cut firewood, for the company's use for their post at the Sault. Subject of fierce growls, even after the skipper "put a keg of Rum on tap." The mate, who threatened to cut just enough firewood to warm himself, was "cursed with the burden of a granted prayer." He burned his foot soon afterwards. Since he could not go to the woods he had to sit picking oakum. When he did go, a tree fell on him.

Another chore the *Nancy's* crew worked at during the winter was attempting to float the company's schooner *Mink*, a small fur-trader which had, apparently, been abandoned after running on a ledge of rock on the shore of the St. Mary's river. They toiled intermittently, when the rising water gave hope, and got skids under her bilges, and moved her ten feet or so. But they had to give up when the intense frosts froze the river solid down to the skids.

Our logbook does not record the event, for it ends abruptly with the arrival of four loads of cut firewood on March 29th, 1814; but the *Mink* was salvaged. Yet to little purpose. She was captured with her load of flour, by the American squadron which later destroyed the *Nancy*.

Wednesday 24 *This morning had some words with Jacob Hammond, Richard McGregor & John Morrison for not being at work at an early hour. They are very insolent. Morrison & I have a scuffle.*

McGregor swears he will not cut more than a cord of wood. Jacob says he can cut firewood enough to warm himself (and no more) & that his time is out on the 5th June next.

Tuesday 15
March
1814 *Disagreeable weather, snows all day with little interruption from the northward. Jonas and Lamotte & self laying a platform on board the Nancy. The others go to the woods in the morning & return about 9 A M after which they pick oakum, making 10½ lb from old plat. Put a keg of Rum on tap.*

Wednesday 16 *About noon of this day I was called in by the men & shown their dinner, upon which I have some words with Jacob Hammond, Richard McGregor, and Joseph Paquet.*

Jacob is very insolent, says that "there is plenty of work in the house, & why don't I give them some, that it is damn hard to be working in the snow."

McGregor finds great fault with the provisions & says "Why don't you kill some of these cattle?"—alluding to the company's—accuses me of finding fault with them for not going out earlier to their work, when all I said was to Evan, the cook, that he should give them their breakfasts at sunrise.

V.
OF THE MEN OF THE NANCY AND
HOW THEY FARED

★

LIEUT. MILLER WORSLEY, R.N., late of H.M.S. *Queen Charlotte*, was in command of the *Nancy* when she burned and sank in battle in the mouth of the Nottawasaga river in 1814. He had under him a midshipman and twenty-one seamen of the navy, who had marched overland from York, besides the *Nancy's* transport crew and a few Indians and voyageurs; thirty-seven men all told. The reason for this strong complement for so small a ship was that the *Nancy* had become His Majesty's entire navy on the Upper Lakes, and her work was vital to the holding of Mackinac. She was engaged in carrying stores and provisions for the garrison, these supplies being brought overland to the Nottawasaga, and loaded there. The *Nancy* had three hundred barrels of pork and flour and bales of military clothing on board when she was destroyed. Burned barrel-staves, pork bones, and brass fastenings, apparently of military footgear, were found in her hull when she was resurrected a hundred and thirteen years later.

Alexander Mackintosh remained with the *Nancy* as her sailing master, probably with all his men—except Hammond, the grumbling mate, who had spoken of quitting her when his time was up in June—and John Baptiste Tromp, who disappears from the log after being sent ashore to scout, just before the fight in the St. Clair river.

This list of the *Nancy's* crew in 1813, before she was taken over by the navy, is compiled from ration lists and incidental mention in the logbook already quoted so extensively:

ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH, *master*.
JACOB HAMMOND, *mate*.
EVAN RICHARDS, *cook*.
JONAS BUTLER PARKER, *carpenter*.
JOSEPH LAMOTTE, *carpenter's mate*.
RICHARD MCGREGOR, *seaman*.
JOHN MORRISON, *seaman*.
JOSEPH PAQUET or PAUQUETTE, *seaman*.
JOHN BAPTISTE TROMP, *seaman*.

I N V E N T O R Y

*dated Dec. 15th, 1812**"belonging to the Nancy."**"Three new pewter spoons.**Two Iron cast Tea Kettles, one Broke.**One Iron Fork.**One do Ladle.**Two tin pans.**One Iron cast Cook Pot.**One Frying pan.**Thirteen pewter plates.**Two plated Iron soup spoons.**Three Large Pewter soup basons, m^kd. N."*

What would one give for a large pewter soup basin marked "N" now?

When the *Nancy* was recovered, among the charcoal where her cabin had been was found a mass of molten lead of several pounds weight. It was supposed, and perhaps correctly, to be the remains of a bag of bullets which had melted and run down into the bilges in the fervent heat of the burning pork and flour of the cargo. It may have been all that was left of the pewter plates and basins of the cabin service.

But the *Nancy's* table equipment was less Spartan than the inventory quoted would indicate if taken by itself. There were fragments of delft and china and glassware in the ruins of the cabin, and pieces of a good cast-iron stove. Nothing in the way of crockery or metal ware was found where the forecabin had been. If the galley was adjoining, as was the custom in early lake schooners, although not in the later ones, there was no trace of its equipment. But the wreck had been fished for a hundred years before it was raised.

The inventory, with the ration list, gives a fair idea of how the tars of the *Nancy* lived a century and a quarter before our time.

"Proposed ration to be issued to the crew during the winter, commencing 1st November, 1813, and ending 31st May, 1814, is 213 days, allowing each man the following ration, vizt.—

<i>p day.</i>	{	<i>One pound beef</i> <i>One half pound flour</i> <i>One half pint peas</i> <i>One gill of rum</i>
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<i>p week.</i>	{	<i>One half bus: potatoes</i>
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<i>The whole quantity for nine men.</i>	{	<i>1917 lbs. beef</i> <i>958½ do. flour</i> <i>112½ bus: potatoes</i> <i>1917 gills rum</i> <i>1917 half pints pease</i>
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<i>For self and boy 2/9 of the quantity</i>	{	<i>426 half pints pease</i> <i>426 lbs. beef</i> <i>426 gills rum</i> <i>213 lbs. flour</i> <i>25 bushels potatoes</i>
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<i>Balance to the men</i>	{	<i>1491 lbs. beef</i> <i>1491 gills rum</i> <i>1491 half pints pease</i> <i>87½ bus: potatoes</i> <i>745 lbs. flour.</i>
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"On board the Nancy, 26th October, 1813.

"I received no part of the provisions due me from the Commifsary since 18th July, 1813, except 200 lbs. pork. The balance remains due. D. A. C. Gl. Gilmor at the time it was demanded said, it was not in store, consequently the rum pease & bread are to be accounted for from the above date to 24th day of October, 1813.

"The above was written at Michilimakinac.

ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH."

As master of the vessel Alexander Mackintosh was entitled to a "commission" of five per cent., not in money, but in pounds and pints of bread, pork, peas and rum. The allowance for "self and boy" would seem to have been a theoretical one during the winter at Sault Ste. Marie, for there is no mention in the logbook of a cabin boy in the *Nancy's* crew, although an unspecified "Peter," in a ration list of the preceding year, may have held that rank.

Among the rations, ship-biscuit could be substituted for the loaves of bread baked at the fur company's depots, pork for beef, corn for peas, and whiskey for rum. Capt. Mackintosh records the formula for the substituted quantities:

"Biscuit to bread, multiply by $10\frac{1}{2}$, divide by 8

"Fresh beef to salt pork— $\frac{1}{3}$

"Whiskey into Rum, plus $\frac{1}{4}$

"Rum to Whiskey, minus $\frac{1}{3}$ "

In the winter records he mentions slaughtering two oxen and a cow and some pigs, and receiving a barrel of American salt, a precious item in pioneer economy. The *Nancy's* crew therefore had both fresh and salt provisions, but little variety, few vegetables, and a minimum of then unknown vitamins. Fifteen pounds of candles lighted them through the dark months of winter, according to the log.

In the wreck of the *Nancy's* cabin, one hundred and fourteen years later, we found little bowls such as cooks call ramikins or custard cups, in sizes of a quarter and an eighth of a pint. They were fused together by the running of their glazing in the intense heat of the *Nancy's* final holocaust. It is quite certain that Evan Richards, the *Nancy's* cook, did not serve cup-custard for the rugged crew. The supposition is that these little bowls were for measuring the rum ration in gills and half-gills. They may have been the noggins from which the rum was drunk.

In addition to the daily allowance of rum or whiskey special issues were made for special occasions, such as the hard heaving at the windlass which dragged the schooner up the rapids of the St. Clair, when the tracking line had been made fast to a tree on shore, or which hove her over the bar in Lake George or the Neebish, on her way to the Sault.

The *Nancy* was not a drunken ship. The extra issues are all carefully noted, as—

"9½ quarts rum to Lieut. Bullock's men at different times, at his desire.

"June 4th, 1812—Gave the men ½ gallon rum by Mr. Johnston's desire." A King's birthday celebration.

"Dec. 25th, 1813—Gave the men 3 qts. Rum, & Mr. Logan (gave) ½ gallon, 28 lb. flour & 4 ps. Beef to the Seamen"—Christmas at the frontier post of Sault Ste. Marie. The next day was Sunday. And the next Monday, perhaps a wilderness Boxing Day. Capt. Mackintosh made two log entries which tell their own story:

"Dec. 27th—Gave the men 3½ gallons Rum for a Dance."

"Dec. 28th—No Duty perform'd by the men this Day."

*The above was written at } Alexander Mackintosh
Michilimackinac. }*

"AND SO ENDS"



"LEAVES FROM THE WAR LOG OF THE NANCY,
EIGHTEEN HUNDRED. AND THIRTEEN,"
WAS DESIGNED, PRINTED AND BOUND BY
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Map Showing the Principal Points in The War Log of The Nancy and the Present Day Locations



Legend

1. Falls of St. Mary, where the Nancy wintered, 1813-14 and her logbook ends. Here her owners, The Northwest Fur Company, had a post and hither she used to voyage as a fur trader before the War of 1812.
2. The "Gibraltar of the North" captured by British volunteers at the beginning of the War of 1812 and held successfully throughout the contest, the garrison being supplied by the Nancy when she was the only vessel flying the British flag left afloat west of the falls of Niagara.
3. Where the crew of the destroyed Nancy avenged her by capturing the two schooners which had destroyed her.
4. Where the Nancy encountered a furious tempest.
5. The Nancy's drift in the gale.
6. Somewhere between these points the Nancy fetched up in the great gale and rode it out with frayed cables, in great peril on the lee shore.
7. Capt. Mackintosh's expected landfall in the gale.
8. Where the Nancy perished and her hull is now enshrined.
9. (York) from which supplies were carried overland to Wasaga Beach to be taken by the Nancy for the relief of the garrison in Mackinac.
10. Here the Nancy lost (and recovered later) her anchor, when scouting to discover the condition of the country after returning from the far north.
11. Rapids of the St. Clair where the Nancy fought her way through the American forces after Capt. Mackintosh threatened to blow her up.
12. Fort Erie from whence the Nancy carried troops for the capture of Detroit in 1812.
13. British post where the Nancy was built in 1789.
14. Moy, where the Nancy was owned and from which she voyaged during the time covered by the logbook.
15. Battle of Lake Erie September 10th, 1813.
16. Maumee River and Bay, where the Nancy lies when the log begins.
17. Put-In Bay Island (South Bass).
18. Fort Meigs (battle site) against which the Nancy carried troops.
19. Fort Stephenson (battle site).
20. Sandusky Bay where the Nancy carried troops and gathered hay for the Major-General's sheep.

PRINCIPAL SAILING TRACKS AND ANCHOR-
AGES OF THE NANCY ARE MARKED THUS



